Graham Greene: An End to Anguish
—Neville Braybroo

THE

Commonwea

COMMUNISTS IN UNIONS

by Paul Jacobs

HOPE IN THE EAST

by Emmanuel Jacques

NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH

by John J. O'Connor

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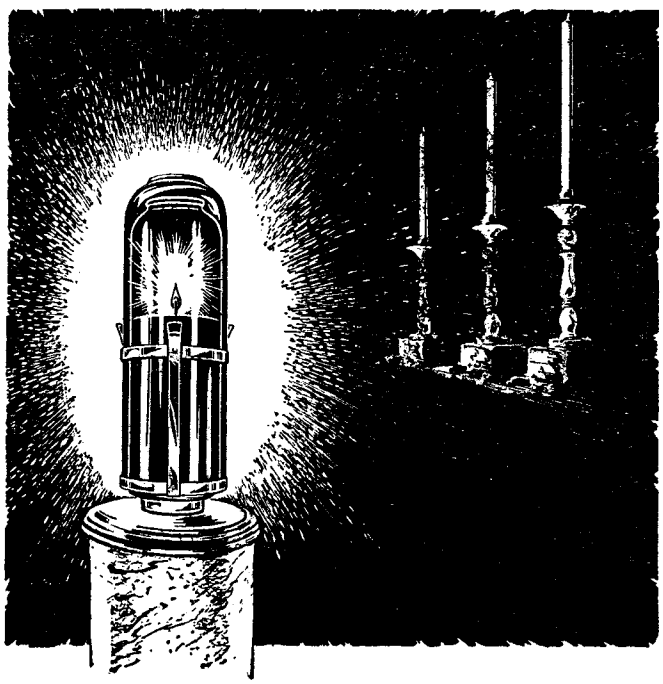
Like the Star Which Guided the Magi . . .



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The Commonweal

week by week

THE EASTLAND HEARINGS

DO MANY normal, patriotic American citizens sigh when they hear of an impending Congressional investigation into Communism? If they do, right-wing commentators insist, it is because the "molders of opinion" in America have always displayed a strong and automatic bias against any and all investigations into Communist activity. But here the right-wing is simply not facing up to the whole story.

Defenders of the Committees like to attribute criticism to a pervading national "softness on Communism." But the days of the Popular Front and the wartime honeymoon with the Soviet are long past. The plain truth is that the country is just full of people who do not think enthusiasm for Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Eastland and their like is an indispensable mark of opposition to Communism. And they think so because over the last two decades the Congressional Committees investigating Communism have been their own worst enemies, often forfeiting by their own conduct the respect of people who would otherwise have been on their side.

As things stand today, the very term "anti-Communist" has been appropriated by a small and determined band of right-wingers who claim exclusive patent rights. If you don't play ball their way, you can't be in the club. And in Congress itself, who have been the great "anti-Communists," using the word with the special meaning the right-wing has given it? Martin Dies was an early and outstanding example, and, despite latter-day efforts at whitewash, his conduct on the House Un-American Activities Committee was fumbling and bumbling; he suffered, apparently, from a chronic inability to tell the difference between reformers and real revolutionaries; as a result, liberals, Socialists and real Communists alike felt his blasts. Also on the House Committee, it will be remembered, was Representative John Rankin, whose violent racism and anti-Semitism were enough to repel any decent man. It was in this period that many liberals fell into the habit of defending automatically and with equal vehemence everyone accused by the Committee, and small wonder, since Messrs. Dies and Rankin between them were enough to confuse the issue hopelessly.

Later there were others, of course. There was J. Parnell Thomas, but any hope that he might change the public image of the Congressional investigator was completely lost when he himself ran afoul of the law and ended in prison. In the Senate there was Senator Pat McCarran, but his views on almost all subjects from immigration through labor and the New Deal were hopelessly repugnant to large sections of the population; billing him as a leading anti-Communist was not calculated to take the curse off the label. More recently, the inimitable Joe McCarthy came along, but his calculated hysteria won few new converts and made many even among his own followers privately uncomfortable. And now comes Senator Eastland of Mississippi to investigate subversion, at the very time when he is making news as the darling of the segregationist Citizens Councils and a leader in the movement to defy to the last the United States Supreme Court on Negro rights. If over the years critics of Congressional inquiries have come to expect the worst, it must be admitted that they are seldom disappointed.

CONGRESSIONAL inquiries under the leadership of such men have supplied plenty of circuses but very little real bread. And there now seem to be good grounds to fear that these Committees have become hopelessly frozen in this pattern. The suspicion grows that they are more interested in pulling chestnuts out of the fire for a small right-wing claque than they are in any genuine investigation of larger public interest. It is in this fashion that the Eastland group's recent foray against the press struck us.

The target for this investigation was, of course, the New York *Times*, a favorite whipping-boy for the right-wing. In such investigations, witnesses

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can be and usually are first heard in private, executive session. Despite this fact, the Eastland committee sent to the stand a regular stream of newsmen for the sole reason, apparently, that they were now employed by or had once had some connection with the *Times*. In view of the fact that almost all of the people grilled in public had had no connection with or sympathy for Communism in almost twenty years, what was the purpose of this procedure, if it was not to blacken the name of the *Times* to the casual headline-reader? Anyone with any familiarity with the subject knows that in the last three decades literally hundreds of thousands of people have come into the Communist orbit, become disgusted, and left again; surely this is not news to the members of the Eastland Committee, and it is therefore hard to see any excuse for their making such people exhibit themselves in public. When the public circus was over, of course, even Senator Eastland admitted that the Committee had absolutely no evidence of any successful attempt by the Communist party to influence the editorial policy of America's leading newspaper. But this admission came after the witnesses had appeared in public, after the headline stories had been gathered into scrapbooks, and after old and long-standing right-wing grudges against the *Times* had been paid off.

The *Times* can take care of itself—and did so, nobly. But even if one ignores the danger to a free press involved in such investigations, the fact remains that Communism is too serious a subject for low comedy; investigations into its influence should be sober and serious, not political expeditions designed to advance personal or partisan causes. It is past time for Congressional investigators to learn that abuses and excesses in such matters can repel honest people today, just as surely as Dies' antics or Rankin's anti-Semitism drove them away in the past. Right-wingers love to harp on the fact that in the period before the cold war many Americans were slow in realizing the Communist threat. But they never point out the fact that a terrible responsibility in this matter must also be borne by men who have made anti-Communism almost synonymous with extremism and violent partisanship. That burden of responsibility weighs heavily on their shoulders; it has been made heavier, not lighter, by the conduct of the recent Eastland hearings.

NEXT WEEK

HELEN C. WHITE writes about the teaching profession and characteristically American freedom.

"I suspect that if we could find the right words for this freedom to make the most of oneself and to make one's distinctive contribution to the life of his time, we would have a source of appeal to the rest of the world more potent even than the American standard of living. . . . Freedom is the key word for what we have to say about American education, and free men are what we have in our mind's eye when we talk of the work of the teacher. . . . And we want this free man to develop not only his powers of understanding and evaluating but of feeling, of enjoying, of wondering, of loving in the great richness of that often abused word."

THE PROSPECT

THERE are several ways of approaching each year's State of the Union message and succeeding expositions of important constituent parts emanating from the White House. One is to view the President's messages as blueprints for forthcoming legislative action. Another is to analyze them from the viewpoint of their campaign possibilities for both parties. To attempt a third way, that of objective evaluation, is made difficult by the political aims embodied in such statements.

President Eisenhower's current message is able to cite a number of favorable signs. The Administration can claim much credit for the results of removing price ceilings when it did—in the face of widespread apprehension. American prosperity is widely shared today outside the rural areas. For the most part our productive plant is operating at full steam. Such prosperity and the economic stabilizers set up primarily in preceding Administrations do lend themselves to a rosy prospective.

Where the President's expected optimism is most debatable is in his comment on the current status of the cold war. It is possible to maintain with him that the United States has concluded a lot of treaties, that "the collective security system has been powerfully strengthened" since the Korean war, and that "our defenses have been reinforced at sharply reduced costs." Yet it is the Soviet Union that has been gaining ground; our position has greatly deteriorated.

The President tacitly recognizes this in his appeal for a long-term American commitment to substantial foreign aid—which for both military and economic purposes may come to ten billions a year, if Congress can be so persuaded. The urgency for increasing and continuing such expenditures contradicts any optimistic appraisal of the situation in the world.

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There is one other important fashion in which the State of the Union message may be seriously misread. Mr. Eisenhower's pointing to various domestic and world needs does not by any means assure that they will be met by Congress, or even supported by legislators of his own Party. This is particularly true where such vital questions as immigration, housing, health and education are concerned, as well as foreign aid. (We do not discuss here the adequacy of the various Eisenhower estimates.) The United States—and the world—would have a better chance of approximating the President's highly admirable general objectives if it only seemed politically possible for all of us to take a more searching look at the nation's current status in the world and the extent of the tasks to be done.

THE PRESIDENT'S SENSE OF DUTY

BEFORE President Eisenhower returned to Washington to resume the full burden of the Presidency, he added new grist to the mill of political speculation. At his first press conference in five months, reporters attempted to approach the big question, that to which every other question was tangential: would the President run again?

The President gave no direct answer to the question because, he said, his mind was "not fixed to such an extent that it can't be changed." But he indicated more clearly than he had previously done the factors that would determine or most strongly influence his decision. Even these indications were sufficiently qualified, however, that a judicious selection from the complete transcript of the conference could yield encouragement to either Democrat or Republican.

President Eisenhower saw the question as more complex than some of his ardent supporters have suggested. In contrast to those who have recently minimized the strain of the Presidency, he said that it was, though not the most tiring, the most wearing of jobs. Nor would the specialists' favorable opinion of his health allow others to make his decision. He would, of course, be directed by his sense of duty, he said, "but where does the sense of duty point and who determines what the duty is?"

The reason that the direction seems less clear to him than it does to some Republicans may be found in his judgment of what it means to change governments: "It is a very critical thing to change governments in this country at a time that it is unexpected. It is a rather startling thing." As if to remove unnecessary ambiguity, he added, "We accustom ourselves and so do foreign government, changing our government every four years, but always something happens that is untoward when a government is changed at other times." (This seemed a clear reference to a change such as that which brought Mr. Truman to the Presidency.)

Until President Eisenhower is able to be more explicit, the country must be satisfied with his present sober and responsible comments. If the Republicans run true to past form we can expect that their private uneasiness will continue to manifest itself as buoyant public optimism. The Republican House minority leader, Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., easily bypassed many of the President's considerations soon after hearing the text of the press conference. "I don't think he has absolutely made up his mind and I don't think he will until he gets the judgment of the doctors. But I still think he will be able to run and that he will run."

No Democrat was equally willing to combine so publicly the roles of doctor and crystal-gazer. But Democrats read his comments with a critical eye and made their own nervous inferences, since Democratic strategy in the coming political debate will be strongly influenced by the President's decision. Both parties would like to see President Eisenhower's sense of duty lead him to a decision soon. The only difference is that they would like to see it lead him in opposite directions.

IN TRANSITION

FOR a brief period during the shortages and extraordinary demands of the war years, primary producers such as the Latin American nations were able to ignore the fact that those who continually exchange raw materials for manufactured products are always in the red. But producers of sugar, coffee and bananas are again painfully aware of this economic truth; only lands producing oil for export in great quantities appear to be making a go of things.

The normal pressures on nations exporting only raw materials are accentuated just now in Latin America by two new factors, according to a recent survey in the New York *Times*. In order to industrialize and diversify their national economies in a sounder manner, several of the South American countries have worsened their trade balances by importing the makings of their new industries. Those hired by new industries have further complicated matters by their increased purchases of consumer's goods (largely imports). The general benefits of industrializing are still to be felt.

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Signs of financial strain multiply in these countries. National currencies become badly devaluated, debts abroad increased and national treasuries weakened at a time when drops in commodity prices impair the main sources of national income. In this crucial period of transition from predominantly agrarian economies in Latin American countries it clearly behooves the United States to stand by.

OUR "GIVE-AWAY" PROGRAM

SINCE 1952 the concept of economic aid has been superseded in our foreign policy by the concept of "defense support," which stressed guns and scanted butter. Most of the funds given to the Orient, for example, were pumped into the military support of Formosa, Indochina and South Korea, leaving but a trickle for the impoverished Far Eastern and Asian countries. Russia's new trick of starting fires in these areas by rubbing a few rubles together has finally forced the Administration to take the concept of economic aid down from the shelf and insert it into foreign policy.

We hope that the Administration's use of economic aid in the future will show a little more flexibility and imagination than it has in the past. Too often, it seems, we tried to export the American virtue of thrift along with the shipments of American material and money, thereby appearing more in the role of banker than benefactor in the eyes of the nations to which aid was extended.

Thus the U.S. has generally insisted on advancing money only for those projects which would add to the capital resources of a nation. Afghanistan, for example, wanted to pave and illuminate the streets of its capital; the U.S. rejected this project as "impractical" and insisted on providing a dam. Russia stepped into the ensuing breach and provided light where the U.S. had engendered heat.

Similarly, the current efforts of the Administration to finance construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt are hampered by questions about Egypt's ability to meet her interest payments as well as by the Congressional machinery which, up to the present, has made foreign aid dependent on annual appropriations.

But Russia, with the bargain-basement sales strategy made possible in a totalitarian economy, has already offered Egypt a loan of six hundred million dollars at terms far more attractive than those held out by the West. The Aswan Dam will revolutionize Egyptian agriculture and industry, opening higher living standards for her impoverished twenty-two million people. But the U.S. is still undecided as to who will build Egypt's dam and shape Egypt's future.

The U.S. might, indeed, study with profit the Soviet approach to economic aid, which, unlike our own, seems to have been blue-printed by a psychologist and not a cost-accountant.

Burma's Premier Nu, for example, seems to have been wooed away from neutralism by adroit Russian manipulation of blandishments and barter. By exchanging Burma's rice surplus for Russian machinery and technicians, the Soviet has saved the Burmese economy from collapse; to show that Burma's Premier was regarded as a friend and not as a poor relation, the Soviet also made him the gift of a bulletproof limousine.

"Giving," wrote Ovid, "demands genius." Not the least part of that genius is to remember that the one who receives is a human being, whose needs cannot always be measured by the yardstick of "realistic" economics.

SCIENCE AND COEXISTENCE

JAMES B. CONANT, American Ambassador to West Germany and himself an eminent scientist, recently stated that the Soviet educational system can succeed in training run-of-the-mill technicians, because it gives intensive training in technical fields. But the rest of the curriculum, largely given over to Marxist-Leninist indoctrination, is not properly education at all, and means, in his opinion, that Russia will fall behind in "the long, fifty-year pull" toward scientific superiority.

Heartening as Dr. Conant's opinion may be for the future, it is offset by a present lag in science cited by the American Chemical Society, which asserts that "the State Department's science program, launched on an ambitious scale five and one-half years ago, seems to have collapsed."

The Science Office had been set up in 1949 to act as a link between the State Department and scientific bodies, and also to advise on foreign policy where "professional scientific judgment" seemed necessary or helpful.

It was this office, for example, which recruited German scientists for work in U.S. government and industry. It is ironic that the State Department will no longer have a scientific adviser overseas or at home just when Germany's scientific resources are showing such remarkable recovery.

Despite Dr. Conant's prediction for Russia over the "fifty-year pull," the attitude of our State Department toward "professional scientific judgment" makes us a little apprehensive about our own immediate, short-range future.

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Communists in Unions

"THE GOVERNMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED A WOEFUL MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT AND OF THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WITHIN IT"

PAUL JACOBS

IT WOULD be difficult to find a more clear demonstration of the wrong way to cope with the Communist problem than the attempt, in December, by the Attorney General to have the United Electrical Workers Union declared a Communist-infiltrated organization under the provisions of the Communist Control Act of 1954. By this action against UE and its earlier move to cite the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the government has demonstrated not only the inadequacies of the Act itself but a woeful misunderstanding of the American labor movement and, more specifically, of the role of the Communist Party within it.

The government's action, in spite of Attorney General Brownell's statement of contrary intentions, may have the effect of legally lumping together the Communist leadership and the non-Communist membership of the two unions which, interestingly enough, always have had a high proportion of Catholic members. In one, UE, the percentage of Catholics is higher perhaps than in any of the other unions expelled from CIO as being Communist-dominated.

In justifying his attempt to cite these unions, Mr. Brownell stated that the government's petition had been filed "to aid the rank-and-file members of this union to clean their organization of Communist dictators." Thus has the government conjured up a picture of the captive members of UE now being given the hope of freeing themselves from the yoke of Communist domination through the intervention of a kindly Justice Department. This fantasy completely ignores the fact that the remaining members of UE have always had an opportunity to change either their union affiliation or, although it is more difficult, their union leadership, but have not thought it necessary to do either.

"That is that," said Philip Murray as the 1950 CIO convention unanimously adopted a resolution approving the action of the CIO executive board in expelling the Communist-dominated unions. The bitter and harsh struggle that had torn the CIO apart from the end of the war had finally ended. Few CIO members doubted the truth of the charges made against the expelled unions. It was, indeed, an incontrovertible fact that these unions had been almost completely in the hands of leaders committed primarily to the Communist Party.

Neither was there much doubt concerning the wisdom, justice and necessity of the expulsions. The conflict between the interests of the Communist Party and those of the CIO could only have caused continued strife and the weakening of the organization. As a voluntary association, the CIO had the right to expel from its ranks any group with perspectives so inimical to it that no compromise of purpose was possible. But expulsion from the CIO and the current attempt of the government to cite the unions as "Communist-infiltrated" are poles apart in theory and practice.

IF THE Attorney General were to be successful, the cited unions would be denied any rights under the National Labor Relations Act. They could not be certified as bargaining agents nor could they avail themselves of any procedures established by the labor law. But whatever the merits or demerits of this section of the Act, it has, at least, the virtue of dealing with the direct problem of the Communist-dominated union as an institution. The penalties assessed are directed against the union. And where the union is strong enough so that it does not need the National Labor Relations Act to protect its contracts or weak enough so that an employer will find economic advantage in dealing with it, the penalty of not being able to operate under the Act may really not be a very severe one. In fact, both John L. Lewis and Harry Bridges have found it possible to survive very well without recourse to the National Labor Relations Board.

But, additionally, it is possible that the government's action may carry with it the same penalties against individual members of UE and Mine, Mill as are assessed, in the 1950 Internal Security Act, against members of organizations determined to be Communist front or Communist action groups. There

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is some question, in legal circles, of whether members of cited unions might conceivably be prohibited from receiving passports, holding union office or employment, working in defense establishments, or holding non-elective government office. And such penalties are especially incredible when we consider that, although there are great differences between the economic bargaining power of the weak, ineffective UE and the somewhat stronger Mine, Mill, there is practically no difference in their *lack* of ability to sell the Communist Party line to the bulk of their members.

THE failure to understand this inability is characteristic of those who accept the common but incorrect image of a Communist-dominated union and, specifically, of the relations between the members and leaders of such unions. This incorrect image also accounts for the fact that Catholics not familiar with the labor movement are surprised that other Catholics could be members of such unions and still retain their religious beliefs.

Unlike many other organizational ties, those committing union members to a specific union are, in general, very narrow. As an institution, the union competes with many other groups in the community for the loyalty of its membership, and a union member is usually no more committed to his union than to his Legion post or his lodge, and he may be less.

But within this narrow framework, there is still a deep loyalty to the leadership. Especially during periods of economic crisis, or in the difficult first stages of union organization, the membership's loyalty to its union and its leaders is stronger and longer-lasting. Even here, however, the index of membership loyalty is calibrated in economic rather than political symbols. Rare indeed is the union member whose concern with his organization extends beyond the issues of wages and hours.

These facts are the sources of both the strength and weakness of the Communist operation in the labor movement. They account also for the unwillingness of many members, including Catholics, of Communist-dominated unions to reject their leaders.

The Communist purpose in unions has not, since the days of the Trade Union Unity League in the thirties, been to convert them into mass revolutionary movements. Obviously, this was impossible and, in the late thirties and early forties, not desirable from the Party's viewpoint. Instead, the Communists were satisfied with the other things they could get from the labor movement—a respectable base of operations, prestige that could be carried over into other groups, a training school for already recruited and committed members and, finally, a forum which the Communist leadership could use for making political impressions on the outside world. But the direct Party recruitment potential of these unions was always very low.

However, to achieve any of these objectives, the Communists needed, above all, control of the union apparatus. This was the most important consideration at any given moment. And in order to achieve and maintain this control, the Communist leadership of a union never hesitated to sacrifice a less important principle. During the Korean War, for example, the leadership of Communist-dominated unions never made the slightest attempt to force a political strike upon the membership, lest their control of the union be lost.

If the cost of pushing not just a Communist position but even a liberal one was loss of control, the position was ignored. If the cost of maintaining control was pandering to the worst prejudices of the union members on the local level, it was done without hesitation. To this day, Harry Bridges' ILWU has all-white locals on the west coast and there was a UE-owned bar in Fort Wayne, Indiana where Negroes were either not served or their whisky glasses were broken in front of them after they had finished their drink. And such instances could be easily multiplied.

Thus, if we realize that the membership of any union usually has a deep loyalty to the group that originally organized it; that in Communist-dominated unions, the membership paid little more attention to the political positions vociferously stated by their leaders than did the members of non-Communist unions; that the leaders, knowing the limits of manipulation, rarely dared take political positions which were basically contrary to the economic or political beliefs of the membership; that the leadership capitalized on the anti-union attitude of the employers and that the abdication of responsibility which takes place in almost every union is equally true of the Communist-dominated ones—if we realize these things, then we can more easily understand why it was possible for a union with an extremely large Catholic membership, like UE, to be, for years, a captive completely under control of the Party. And we can also realize why, in spite of all the criticism of their leaders, there are still Catholics in Mine, Mill, the ILWU and UE.

A GOOD example of a Communist-dominated union is provided by UE. For a number of reasons the electrical manufacturing industry, where UE held most of its contracts, had an extremely high percentage of Catholic workers. Much of the industry was located in the east coast urban centers with their high Catholic concentration. This concentration of Catholic workers in the industry was immediately reflected in the initial secondary leadership of the union. But the top leadership and, just as important,

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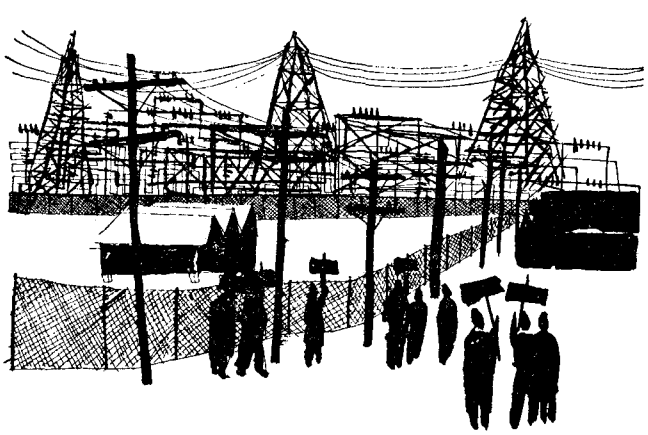
the organizing and administrative staff of the union were controlled by the Party from the very beginning. And this control was strengthened by the attacks of employers who, especially in the early days of CIO, characterized every union leader as a Communist. These attacks were utilized very effectively by the Communist leadership of UE to bolster their own positions and characterize any internal opposition to their activities as "employer-inspired Red-baiting."

It is extremely significant that the great loss of membership which UE has suffered since its expulsion from CIO—a loss made clear by one leader who said at the union's recent convention, "Ten years ago one UE district had more members than UE today"—has come about not because the membership found UE politically less attractive but rather because they found other unions economically more attractive. Designating UE's leadership as Communist, even though the characterization was correct, did not win as many elections for the CIO's International Union of Electrical Workers, UE's chief rival, as did the fact that it was negotiating better contracts than UE.

Similarly, the attempt by the United Steelworkers to take over the membership of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers failed when it dealt primarily with the political beliefs of the union's leadership. The copperminers and smelter operators were more concerned with economic benefits, and it was only in those places where these were made the crucial issues that the steel workers and the AFL were at all successful.

Clearest evidence of a union membership's refusal to reject its leadership because of outside political pressure alone is to be found in the history of the ILWU on the west coast. Here again, we find a union whose membership's political beliefs are basically opposed to its leadership's but whose commitment to the union and the leadership overrides the outside pressures applied to them. In 1948, the ILWU membership successfully conducted a months-long strike in support of Harry Bridges' refusal to sign the non-Communist affidavits of the Taft-Hartley Bill. But no informed observer would have concluded from this that Bridges had been successful in persuading the ILWU membership or even any small portion of it to accept the Communist Party.



It seems evident, then, that the membership of a Communist-dominated union like UE, Mine, Mill or the ILWU is hardly distinguishable from that of any other union. This similarity would not hold true of such Party unions as the Furriers, at least in the urban areas, or the old United Office and Professional Workers where a much more politicalized membership identified itself quite clearly with the beliefs of its leaders. But these union members were a self-selected group. It was not necessary to make Communist sympathizers of them since many of them were sympathizers before they joined. The penalties of the Communist Control Act will not be invoked against such unions, however, since they either no longer exist or, as in the case of the Party Furriers, are now hidden under the white aprons of the butchers' union.

Some of the strongest external pressures exerted upon the membership of the Communist-dominated unions have come from elements of the Catholic Church. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, priests like Father Charles Owen Rice, the Catholic labor institutes and many parish priests have worked at this problem. Although it is extremely difficult to assess definitively the success or failure of their work, it appears that the influence of the Church was most effective when the membership was, for other than religious reasons, already wavering in its commitment to the leadership. As part of a constellation of pressures, the Church was effective; alone, it seemed less able to carry out the task.

WHAT conclusions can be drawn from all this? It seems fairly clear that the memberships of Communist-dominated unions are not very much different from that of other unions; that their leaders have proved incapable of mobilizing and manipulating them effectively for Communist interests if those interests are counter to the obvious interests of the membership, and that many Catholic workers found, and some still find, membership in such unions not clearly incompatible with their religious belief.

It also seems fairly clear that little or no careful thought was given to these aspects of the problem by the drafters of the Communist Control Act and less than that by those responsible for the government's present action. To escape the official stigma and penalties which, if the government succeeds, will be associated with membership in their union, it may yet turn out that many members of UE and Mine, Mill will leave the organizations. But even if this happens, government action seems at best a poor method of solving such problems.

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Hope in the East

EMMANUEL JACQUES

AFTER an absence of ten years, I returned recently to the Orient. My first impression was one of tremendous change. In two months in Viet Nam I did not see one rickshaw, but I saw more than ten cooperatives of all kinds where before there had been none. The seminarians now play soccer in shorts, and in Vinh Long they teach catechism to adults in the evening.

These changes develop at a very different pace in cities and in the countryside, among the intellectuals and among the illiterates; ten miles from the most modern factory one could sometimes not find a yard of electric wire or a gallon of gasoline. A few blocks from the University of Calcutta a temple of Kali is what it has been for centuries.

These social and domestic changes with their resulting conflicts develop along with soul-searching international doubt and anguish. I stopped in eleven countries; ten of them were colonies at the end of World War II. If they are sometimes sensitive about their new independence, at least they show far less bitterness toward their former Western occupants than many Western powers show toward each other. The great fear of the new nations is that their formal political independence will be frustrated by economic and other devices of international control. They have suffered at the hands of nationalism and know the need for international cooperation, but they often find themselves robbed of some fruits of their independence by the privileges and attitudes of the "big powers."

They know the dangers of Communism, but are thoroughly frightened when they witness the helplessness of the West, and are angered by any Western diplomatic move aimed at spreading division among non-Communistic countries—hence their distrust of SEATO and the Baghdad pact. Although the West is often considered as moving faster than the East, I often wondered during my recent trip whether the West has not been slower than the East in adapting itself to post-war situations and problems.

The Church has to grow among the ruins and hopes of turmoil and rebirth. She did not succeed too well in her adaptation to the traditional and rather static Asian civilizations of yesterday; in her present efforts she is not falling into the trap of "adjustment" to the "world." At the same time the Church shows concern and alertness in her observation and evaluation of the changes now taking place in Asia.

Many of these changes are not spectacular. The use of seminarians as night-school teachers, for instance, might look rather trivial, but actually reveals the effort of clerical educators to provide their students with a better knowledge of the people among whom they will have to work, and thereby to prepare them for a fuller use of their talents in their future apostolate. Thus a change in education might very well prepare a shift of outlook on many pastoral and missionary problems in the near future.

Besides, the cooperation of these Vietnamese seminaries with adult education programs is only part of the great development of mass education throughout Asia. In Saigon a group of government employees and young professionals, most of them former students in the U.S., initiated evening classes, giving their services voluntarily after their day's work; when I left Saigon 1,700 adults were attending these night schools. Burma is training 6,000 elementary teachers at an accelerated schedule every year. This means that every year, more than 200,000 children and adults will receive the initial schooling that they could not have been offered one year before. The illiteracy rate in Indonesia has dropped from ninety to sixty per cent in eight years.

MANY results of such mass education are already being felt. With the increase of literacy in the villages and the improvement of transportation, newspapers reach an ever-increasing number of readers, spreading news and ideas and increasing the influences of the cities on the villages. The printed word is replacing oral traditions and precepts; as teacher of the young, the elder is being replaced by the publisher and the writer. The government, or any organized and powerful group, has new means of influence for either good or evil.

Interest in mass education will have other results, for in undertaking adult education the "improvised" teachers themselves will learn a great deal. They will learn about people of different social or educational backgrounds; their efforts for the less favored classes of the population will help them to keep, in their profession or government position, the high standard of

Father Jacques recently returned to the U.S. after extensive visits to Viet Nam, Egypt, Iraq, Pakistan, Japan and India.

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dedication that animates them today in the hard struggle being waged against the remnants of past corruption.

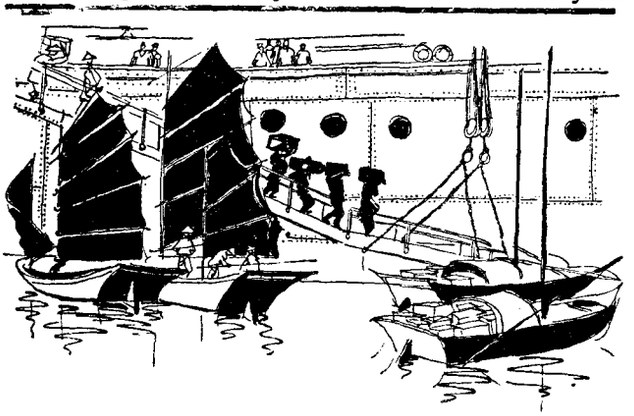
I saw Indian villages where, during the summer, students from the neighboring universities came for a few weeks to teach reading and writing, to help farmers improve their agricultural methods or to give a hand at improving village sanitation. Besides contributing to the surprising success of India's agricultural plans, these efforts also have great influence on the teacher-students themselves, helping them to realize their future responsibilities as intellectual, political, and industrial leaders of their country, and to feel a part of the people as a whole, rather than of a class.

These groups of students are comprised of men and women, and this intermingling is rather new. It means that Indian women are preparing to take an active part in public life. This part might be more important than anyone could guess, not only for their direct political action, but also for the kind of education they will give their children.

Their cooperation with boys in these social projects during their college years also means that their preparation for marriage is altogether different from that of their mothers; whether that preparation and their future family life will be happy or not depends on their wisdom, and on the ability of their parents to understand this social evolution, while retaining enough prestige to guide their children whenever they need it.

Under many a roof the pace of such changes is a cause of great concern and conflict. The West is still undergoing an evolution that has taken centuries; Asia is cramming the Renaissance, Reformation, the emancipation of women, secularization and democratization into the span of a single generation. Parents seem to realize and accept the fact that today is not yesterday; it is already time for the children to know that today will soon be yesterday, and that beyond the impermanency of forms lies the permanency of nature and of an unchanging God.

The gap between elders and youngsters is not only social, but often religious and philosophical. I know a Vietnamese almost seventy years old, who was raised in a distinguished family and had received exactly the same Confucian education as his grandfather had; i European history the closest parallel to the societ into which he was born would be the period a the end of Middle Ages. His generation cruelly felt th dispossessions of the colonial regime in all fields c public life; among those who did not resign themselve to these frustrations, some took to revolutionary activ ties, but others, like my friend, turned to their nationa culture and tried to save Confucianism. They faile as others have failed in China. They were confider that twenty-five hundred years of Confucian cultur had demonstrated its ability to survive all crises tr umphantly; they failed to realize that there is no ade quate analogy between the Western revolution of th last centuries and the most acute convulsions withi Chinese or Vietnamese history.



VIET NAM may also serve as a mirror of the im portant political changes now taking place throug out the East. The Marxian hope of polarization aroun two classes inside of each nation is not materializin any more today in Viet Nam than it was twenty-fiv years ago; on the contrary, the number of "classes seems increasing with industrial specialization an economic progress. This is true even in those Asia countries where the gap between the tycoon and th laborer is greater than in more industrialized countrie but is being rapidly spanned by the emergence of in termediate classes. Cab-drivers, teachers, governmer workers and foremen are completing the rainbow.

Marx's prediction of a world struggle, howeve might materialize in quite a different manner; it wi most probably not be a fight between the whole "pro letariat" of the world and all the possessing classe without regard for national divisions. More drama ically, instead, nationalism might combine with a "cla upheaval" of the under-industrialized countries again the others; somewhat accidentally, the division mig even follow some racial lines.

If these forces combine into some kind of "Inte national of the Proletarian Nations," their explosiv power would embody, for the first time, the appeal o nationalism, the violence of class struggle, the bitte ness of a racial uprising, and the ideology of inte nationalism. If this cumulation of forces is frustrate by mistakes similar to those made in Viet Nam, the will, like Vietnamese nationalism, become accessible Communist infiltration and control. It would be a sma consolation if no shot is fired at the ensuing world-wic Dien Bien Phu.

The lines of division are perhaps being drawn toda During the Bandung conference almost all of the new papers I read were Asian. At this same time a SEAT meeting had been called at Baguio in the Philippine The front pages and headlines were witness to the in

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pact of Bandung on Asia; the news on SEATO was brief and hardly ever discussed in conversation.

Reference is often made, slightingly, to the "Asian-African" bloc at the UN. Short-sighted efforts to split the Asian-African aspirations will be of as little avail as were the French attempts to split Viet Nam or to ally with mountaineers against the Vietnamese. The more strength, the more pride, the more progress, the more unity there is in Asia, the better the chance for the West and the whole world to escape Communism. One should not be afraid of any sound aspirations, political, economic, or social, but to attempt their frustration is dynamite.

IF THE policy of the West is honest and intelligent, the answer of the East will be gratifying. Eastern nationalisms are different from modern Western nationalism. First of all, they are younger, and this means that there are no century-old rivalries and bitterness, either toward each other or toward Europe. British statues are still on their pedestals in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; streets in Saigon still bear the names of Yersin, Pasteur, and Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes; Indonesian students still attend universities in the Netherlands.

Another reason why Eastern nationalism is more restrained than most Westerners think is that these people know the need for international cooperation and yearn for peace. The wounds of the world are many and these nations feel them deep in their flesh. Their contribution to international cooperation is wider than we generally suspect; the records of Asian specialists working outside of their own countries for the UN or UNESCO are enlightening in this respect. In 1953 there were twenty-six Egyptian specialists working abroad on UN projects, and only twenty non-Egyptian specialists working on UN projects in Egypt. African students do not study only in the West but also in Calcutta and Bombay; Vietnamese students are beginning to attend universities in the Philippines.

Lastly, Asian nationalism does not have the aggressiveness of many modern states, but is rather a determined, sometimes very sensitive, but peaceful defense against foreign controls, limitations, and encroachments. If tricked or even ignored, it might turn into something quite different.

I am confident that this nationalism of the Asian nations not only is in itself no danger for anyone, but furthermore it might, in the long run, influence the countries of the West and blunt the aggressiveness of their own nationalistic and imperialistic tendencies. In short, these profound changes—political, social, economic—are presenting the East with unusual opportunities and unusual challenges. In meeting this "new East," the nations of the West can, if they will, teach—and learn—a great deal for the ultimate benefit of all mankind.

SHIFTING PICTURE

Negro Voter in the South

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

IT IS impossible to get complete and accurate figures on Negro registration and voting in the South today. But it is possible to present a few approximations that may give some idea of the situation. Negroes have come a long way politically in a short time. In the 1920's the Negro vote in the South was estimated at 70,000. By 1940, according to Ralph Bunche, it was about 250,000, and by 1947 the Negro vote climbed to 645,000. In 1952, it was 1,100,000, or about sixteen per cent of the eligible Negro voters. In view of the lack of an exact, up-to-date picture since that time, what I have done is to take a few political soundings in half a dozen sovereign Southern states. (I have a few friends in the remaining states of the Old South, but they have thus far, for reasons of prudence and health, maintained silence.)

A colleague in North Carolina warned me that I would find some difficulty in substantiating political trends since 1952. Up to that time, it appears, Negroes had been registering and voting in increased numbers. Some had even been elected to office. Since the Supreme Court decision on public school integration in 1954, however, there are signs indicating a reversal.

"I call them signs," my friend wrote, "because I have not seen scholarly proof. But I mention them so that you will be on your guard against drawing conclusions on data even as recent as the last general elections."

Mr. O'Connor, formerly a member of the editorial staff of The Commonweal, now teaches at Georgetown University.

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My friend did not indicate what he classified as signs. Perhaps the fact that Negroes had been beaten up in his community, solely because they were Negroes, might properly be put down as a sign. But I am not sure. One should not, perhaps, be too hasty in drawing conclusions from empirical data.

Consider the situation in Virginia, a state with a considerable historical stake in freedom's birth in this country. Although a registrar, it should be obvious, is essential to registration, what intrigues me is that in certain poll-tax Virginia counties registrars are virtually inaccessible. And when the identity and location of the registrar can be ascertained without an exhausting and prolonged search, the registrar sometimes turns out to be a woman. The spectacle of Negroes prowling around a white woman's home for the plausible purpose of trying to exercise a constitutional right is so abhorrent and repugnant to the traditional Southern way of life that no living Negro, to my knowledge, has thus far deemed it either prudent or practical to challenge a cultural lag that is considered by white people to be obviously in the best interests of both races.

As a result of tactics like this, I do not expect any rampaging upsurge of Negro voters in the poll-tax Old Dominion in 1956. Yet Negroes are by no means pessimistic about the future. A Richmond friend says, "While not spectacular in its manifestations, there seems to be an increasing interest on the part of Negro voters in the election of the more liberal and statesman-like candidates. In response to this increased interest and its potential, more and more candidates are seeking the support of Negro voters."

IN SENATOR Kefauver's state, a friend visited registration headquarters at my request and was informed that no separate list of Negro voters is kept in Tennessee. Citizens vote according to the ward in which they reside, and in many such wards Negroes and whites live side by side and vote at the same polling places without distinction.

At the present time there is no poll tax in Tennessee as a requisite for voting. The only requirement is that one must have resided in the state for one year and in the precinct for a period of six months before becoming eligible for voting. Nor is there any current attempt, on a state-wide basis, to prevent Negroes from voting in the primaries. However, there are some three or four counties in the western section of the state in which Negroes are discouraged from voting. In some instances, they are not even permitted to register. In Fayette and Haywood counties, for example, it is reported that the county sheriff or his deputies stand guard to keep Negroes from the registration places. In other sections of Tennessee, however, Negroes are urged by office seekers to register and vote.

Preston Parks, chairman of the Fayette County Democratic Executive Committee, was quoted in one of the Nashville papers recently as saying that Negroes are not denied the right to vote but are barred from Democratic primaries. "The Democratic primary here," Mr. Parks said, "is traditionally limited to 'all known white Democrats,' and we have always been led to believe that any Negro voters were Republicans."

IN South Carolina (no poll tax), Negro registration was estimated in 1952 to be 115,000. The current estimate is 132,000. Registration certificates are issued every ten years. A certificate held today is good until 1958. No attempt is being made to keep Negroes from registering, according to information received from a resident of the state.

"All are welcome," my friend writes, "and in most counties politicians are anxious to have Negroes register and, at voting time, candidates seek Negro votes. This was especially true when Senator Johnson ran for Senator against J. Strom Thurmond. Negroes supported Johnson and he won by only 25,000 votes; it is estimated that 77,000 Negroes voted. This was true again in 1952 when Governor Byrnes tried to carry South Carolina for Eisenhower, and it was the Negro votes that retained the state in the Democratic Party. Negroes are stepping up registration in South Carolina looking forward to 1956."

In Georgia (no poll tax), there are 145,000 registered Negro voters. Last September a Federal Court jury listened to twenty-two plaintiffs who charged their names had been kept off the voting lists by two members of the Randolph County Board of Registrars as part of a deliberate attempt to cut down on the number of Negro voters. In his charge to the jury, Judge W. A. Bootle said that the boards of registrars may examine the qualifications of persons on the voting lists, but that they are required to use the type of examination prescribed by law, not one of their own devising; twenty of the Negro plaintiffs, he pointed out, had been illegally removed from the voting lists, and the other two had been given an illegal examination when they applied for registration. The jury found for the Negro plaintiffs, awarding them damages of $40 each.

IN poll-tax Alabama the number of registered Negro voters in 1952 was 50,000. Today the picture there adds up roughly to something like this: 1) In fifteen counties Negroes may register to vote without any resistance. They are even encouraged to register. 2) There are approximately fifteen counties where Negroes do not vote and are not allowed to register. The registrars are hostile and unfriendly, and the whites in the community threaten and intimidate anyone who insists upon

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registering. Three of these counties have no Negroes on the voter list while the others each have less than one hundred. 3) The remaining thirty-seven counties will register Negroes if they insist and have each between five hundred and fifteen hundred on the list. 4) Negroes sued the Board of Registrars for denying them the ballot in 1948 in Macon County and in 1954 in Bullock County.

A recent newsletter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations states that there are 40,177 registered Negro voters. Jefferson County has the largest number —5,250. It is the county in which Birmingham is located, where the CIO and the Steelworkers have been working for twenty years to secure civil rights for unionists, Negroes included. "Reaction to the Till case," one of my Alabama friends wrote, "is pretty bad down this way. Negroes are upset about it, and whites are defensive about it all."

FROM poll-tax Mississippi comes this word: "The question of Negro voting is very spotty. The number of Negro voters was increasing rather rapidly until the decision of the Supreme Court and the demanding of integrated schools by local NAACP units, and the organization of white Citizens Councils in the state.

"Perhaps the NAACP is correct in its strategy but the immediate action did crystallize the opposition in Mississippi. Registration of Negro voters, I believe, is as a consequence now going downward instead of increasing. Not many Negroes here in Mississippi are independent of white people in an economic sense. People like undertakers and medical doctors and dentists have in some cases lost their independence by white people influencing Negro patients and customers to remove their patronage from those people who are seeking the immediate application of the Supreme Court decision."

Roy Wilkins, executive of the NAACP, is authority for the statement that terrorist tactics have reduced the number of Negro voters in Mississippi from 22,000 in 1952 to about 8,000 in 1955. This is out of a potential Negro vote of 497,000. The immediate ambition of the white Citizens Councils in the state is to see to it that "no Negro who believes in equality has a job, gets credit, or is able to exist in our communities."

Terrorized Negroes in Mississippi have three generous alternatives: knuckle under, flee, or die. It is not strange that in such an atmosphere Rev. George W. Lee was murdered by a shotgun blast on May 7, 1955, in his home town of Belzoni. Rev. Lee's "crime" was that he was the first Negro to register to vote in his county. He had been ordered to remove his name from the registration list and had refused to do so. No arrests have been made. The sheriff said the lead pellets in Rev. Lee's jaw and neck "could have been fillings from his teeth."

On Saturday afternoon, August 13, 1955, Lamar Smith was murdered in front of the courthouse at Brookhaven. His "crime" was that he had been active in getting voters out for the primary election on August 2 and was working on the run-off primary scheduled for August 23. A grand jury on September 21, 1955, failed to return an indictment against the three men arrested in connection with the Smith murder.

In the Mississippi county where an all-white jury acquitted the suspected murderers of the Till boy in one hour and seven minutes, only voters may serve on juries. Not one of the county's 19,000 Negroes is permitted to vote.

In Louisiana even white people have a difficult time voting in some of the rural parishes. A correspondent there advised me to seek information about Louisiana conditions from NAACP headquarters in New York. In this terror-ridden world of ours, it has become customary, for reasons of health, to seek information about Manchester in Mobile, and to investigate conditions in Hoboken by spending a weekend in Harlem. But my Louisiana friend did sound an encouraging note.

"The Jesuit Bend incident, involving a Negro priest," he wrote, "is another example of how great good can come out of evil. This incident is just one example of the bitter prejudice with which we are having to contend at this crucial stage of Southern progress. But make no mistake about it. Despite all evidence to the contrary, great progress actually is being made. Undoubtedly, we are in for some stormy weather. But when the clouds roll by in one, two, five, or ten years, a New South will have emerged. It is a thrilling experience to play a part in this transitional period, although the going gets pretty tough at times."

We can all hope my friend is right. But if I were to hazard a concluding observation, it would be that the Democrats have a lot to answer for in Dixie, particularly in Mississippi and Louisiana, and that all of us should take out a life membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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THE SCREEN

THE EGO AND I

IN TELLING the Lillian Roth story, "I'll Cry Tomorrow" has one great advantage over most movies dealing with people who become victims of drink or dope or some other crutch: it makes clear how Lillian got that way. We are shown enough of her childhood to understand how a little girl, pushed around by a determined back-stage mother, might develop a feeling of insecurity and of being unloved. Her mother did love her in her own way, but whenever the child dissolved into nervous tears, the best she could come up with was a sort of half-consoling, "Not now, honey; you've got all day tomorrow to cry." So the crying was always put off, and by the time we see the grown-up Lillian Roth as a success on the vaudeville stage and in Hollywood we know that she is ready for the big cry that will follow the first major crisis. Mother works overtime to keep Lillian from marrying David (warmly played by Ray Danton as a paragon of men), but Lillian and David are very much in love and it is his tragic death that is followed by the big cry, Lillian's rebellion against her mother, guilty confusion, and nips from the bottle, first to put the unhappy girl to sleep and then to give her assurance before going on stage. Her rebound marriage to Wallie (Don Taylor) becomes a sort of Scott Fitzgerald-Jazz Age affair; and her next marriage, by which time she knows she is an alcoholic, becomes a hideous nightmare with a husband (Richard Conte) who is interested only in her substantial bank account.

No doubt the excellent script, written by Helen Deutsch and Jay Richard Kennedy from Miss Roth's autobiography, does oversimplify the causes of Lillian's breakdown and descent to Skid Row and the verge of suicide, but Daniel Mann has directed his cast so well and the elements of the story are so interesting that "I'll Cry Tomorrow" never lags in spite of its length. Susan Hayward, who has played an alcoholic before and is a good actress when well directed, gives the finest performance of her career. She sings the songs (especially "Red, Red Robin" and "Happiness Is a Thing Called Joe") with style, and she plays the suffering woman as if she really believed the opening lines of the film and the book: "My life was never my own. I was charted before I was born." She is especially moving during the last part of the movie when she goes to A.A. and is helped by this organization and Burt McGuire (Eddie Albert) on the road to mental and physical health. The film, perhaps because it was already too long, does nothing with the religious themes in Miss Roth's real story. Matching Miss Hayward's superb performance is that of Jo Ann Fleet as the mother who is almost the villain of the piece. She plays her as a woman obsessed with the idea of making her daughter a singing star and crushed by the turn of events even when she admits her mistakes. "I'll Cry Tomorrow" is a two-handkerchief movie, but it is also fine and inspiring.

THE Italians have sent over an amusing little item that some reviewers may feel puts them in an awkward position. "Too Bad She's Bad" has some very funny situations and dialogue, but it's about a group of thieves played by Vittorio De Sica, Sophia Loren (as his daughter) and several others who display great charm as they go about their evil ways. The main victim of their chicanery is a taxi driver (Marcello Mastroianni) who gets himself tied up in knots when he falls for Sophia but still wants to bring her and her playmates to justice. Unfortunately for those who don't speak Italian and have to depend on the sub-titles, the script is too talky, and one is kept busy reading as well as looking at the antics of the good cast directed by Allessandro Blasetti. The plot, stemming from a story by Alberto Moravia, is handled in a light comedy manner that never really takes all the dirty work seriously, and the characters, even the frustrated taxi driver, always behave as if they were having loads of fun. Some of this fun is contagious but there are probably people who will come away thinking that the Italian police are awful buffoons and that thievery as a way of life does not matter too much in a country so casual about ethics. The shots of Rome are lovely.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

OF NOTE

LITURGY AND TELEVISION

A RECENT issue of *The Tablet*, the English Catholic weekly (128 Sloane St., London, S. W. 1.), contained a discussion by C.R.A. Cunliffe on the televising of High Mass and other parts of the liturgy. The major portion of this discussion is given below:

While it rests with professional critics of television to discuss the aesthetic merits of these performances (and they have had a most favorable reception), a Catholic will naturally ask himself what religious purpose such broadcasts serve. . . .

To watch Mass on television can, for a Catholic, be only a very inferior substitute for actually assisting at Mass, and, in his case, the transmission will have served its purpose if he is thereby persuaded to go more fre-

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quently to Mass. Yet what of the great majority of viewers? They are not Catholics; they may be practicing Christians; they are probably not regular churchgoers. They will have some Catholic friends; they will entertain many popular misconceptions of the Catholic religion; traditionally they are supposed to be suspicious of Roman doctrines. If, in their case, our televised services are to be of any ultimate value, they must be initially attractive, contain some familiar elements, and appear convincing; lacking these qualities, they will fail, respectively, to capture interest at the outset, to foster appreciation of what is happening, and to exercise any subsequent influence.

How successful are our Catholic services when judged by these criteria? The natural dignity and splendor of the rites easily catch the attention of the viewer and arouse his interest. Yet their very attractiveness springs almost entirely from the unfamiliarity of the rite; only a transient fascination is engendered; among a host of unusual features, the use of Latin, like some long-forgotten hieratic language, is the element most alien to the sympathy of the viewer. It is unlikely that his interest will ever mature as appreciation of the immensity of the action behind the activity.

This is attested indirectly by the television critic of the *Sunday Times* who wrote of the broadcast from Notre Dame: "The 90-minute *transmission* was marvelously successful . . . one of the most outstanding *TV broadcasts*." As *liturgy* our services are at best glimpsed darkly, mirrored in the interpretation of the commentator. The recollection of what was seen may lurk pleasantly in the memory, but the impression taken away cannot be sufficiently convincing either to stimulate intellectual inquiry or to influence conduct. If there is a failure in these matters, it stems from the unfamiliarity of the service: how may this be remedied?

It can be said at once that ritual of itself is no obstacle. Great events in the life of Church and State, as portrayed on the television screen, display all the pomp and circumstance befitting the occasion: the considerable impact made on the public by the coronation transmission alone is sufficient evidence. Vestments, candles, incense, genuflections, and the like, are all defensible when their function is perceived: they contribute to the service those external elements which cannot be sacrificed if the external character of the rite is to remain unchanged and unmistakably Catholic.

The same cannot be said of the language employed: the Latin is not understood by viewers, the message fails to be understood and the service appears esoteric. Any commentary, however eloquent, is clearly a feeble makeshift which inevitably destroys all pretense that the viewer is in some sense a worshipper: even if present in the church he would be no more than a spectator. *Participation,* the earnest desire of successive Popes, not mere *attendance,* the legal minimum, is what we are expected to aim for, and the continued use of Latin on these occasions is tantamount to permanently excluding its attainment.

After the broadcast from Notre Dame a correspondent wrote to the *Radio Times* objecting to "the English translation during the actual preaching of the Archbishop's sermon" on the grounds that "a large number of English people learn French, and for those who do not, a printed translation could easily have been provided afterwards." If it is superfluous to translate (into English) what is already understood by many (in French), how much more unjustifiable must it seem when a commentary (in English) is necessary because what is going on is understood by virtually no one (in Latin); in terms of the cinema, one who enjoys musical films does not seek admission to westerns so that he may close his eyes and imagine they are musicals; would it not be more realistic and efficacious to let English be used instead of Latin on these occasions?

This suggestion finds support in a recent important precedent. On September 5th, 1955, at Uniontown in Pennsylvania, there took place an event unique in liturgical history: the Holy Sacrifice was offered in the English language by a prelate of the Roman rite. Bishop Fulton Sheen, auxiliary to Cardinal Spellman in New York, was accorded special permission by the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church to celebrate Pontifical Mass in the Ruthenian rite. The Bishop is the American National Director of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and the occasion marked, as he said in his sermon, the sending of a direct message to the Russian people; the Mass . . . was offered for Russia, and was broadcast by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

Why was English permitted on this occasion? Clearly it was for the benefit of either celebrant or people. It is hard to believe that the Sacred Congregation could have been impelled to take so momentous a step solely out of consideration for the task which would have been Bishop Sheen's had he been required to speak the entire liturgy in Slavonic: in that case it would have been more natural to suggest that some prelate of the Ruthenian rite be invited to pontificate. This Mass was offered for Russia, naturally including in the intention the reconciliation of the Russian Orthodox Church with Rome. It is a fact that this dissident Church has, particularly in its foreign missions, made considerable use of the vernacular in modern times for its liturgy. It has even been proposed to use the modern language in Russia itself instead of Old Slavonic.

Now English is as much a vernacular of Ruthenians resident in the United States as any Slav language is; and further, English was the national tongue of all those Americans present at Uniontown. Is it then very surprising that the Holy See gave permission for a Mass in English? Many petitions have in recent years been

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addressed to the Holy See for a greater use of the vernacular in worship; of late such requests have seemed to be specially encouraged. The need for English when Catholic services are televised in Britain, and vast numbers of non-Catholics become present at our worship, seems, to the present writer, to be overwhelmingly compulsive.

COMMUNICATIONS

"CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN"

Saigon, Viet Nam

TO the Editors: My friend, Mr. Christopher Rand, writing on Afghanistan ("Crisis in Afghanistan," Oct. 7), refers to Indochina, "many of whose people (he says) would prefer to be Communist." It would seem that "many" in such a context must mean "relatively many," that is, a good majority. It would be interesting to know on what fact Mr. Rand bases his statement.

(REV.) PATRICK O'CONNOR,
Correspondent, NCWC News Service.

REPLY

Simla, India

TO the Editors: My friend Father O'Connor seems to confuse the word "many" with "most" in this case. I can think of *no* context where "many" should be construed as "a good majority" or even "a slight majority." It is a word that deals with quantity on its own, not as a percentage of some other quantity. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it simply as "numerous." I think that is how nearly all readers understand it. When I referred to "many" of the people in Indochina, I meant a sizable element there, and nothing more specific.

I haven't got the article in question with me. As I remember it, my point was this: We have been making an expensive effort against Communism in Indochina, though a sizable element there wishes we would not; by contrast we have spent little in Afghanistan, where Communism also threatens, though virtually no one there favors it. I believe I argued that this line was inconsistent and thoughtless, and likely to drive the Afghans into the Red orbit. Regrettably, the likelihood seems even greater now than when the article was written.

Since reading Father O'Connor's letter I have realized that the question of a majority in Indochina may seem crucial to those on the scene now (as he is), because of the projected elections. Perhaps it forces itself into many discussions gratuitously. However, I was far away and not thinking of that. I was thinking that Afghanistan, unlike Indochina, was a place where we could have fought Communism without fighting a good bit of the population too. It seems to me that this distinction is important. . . .

CHRISTOPHER RAND.

"THE 'NEW' UN"

Ithaca, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I must express my chagrin and disappointment with your editorial "The 'New' UN," which appeared in the December 30 issue.

There are a great many Americans unalterably opposed to the entry of Red China into the United Nations. In our naivete we think that Nationalist China did display "moral integrity" in its position on the recent "package deal," and not "intransigence" as you choose to call it. Nor are we all spokesmen for the "American Right." I am a lifelong Democrat, and a supporter of Roosevelt and Truman.

The League of Nations was doomed when the Western powers sought to appease Italy on its Ethiopian adventure. Appeasement of Red China will no less surely seal the fate of the United Nations. It is all very well to criticize Mr. Lodge and our State Department as "inept." With only the lukewarm support of our allies and the open hostility of the neutralist nations, it is a wonder they have done so well. Perhaps they need our support, not our criticism.

ROBERT S. PASLEY.

The editorial in question did not urge the admission of Communist China; it said that the course followed by Nationalist China in this matter made the admission of Communist China much more likely than it had been. To quote: "The recent admission of sixteen new nations to the UN will, in all probability, result in several new and unpleasant *political realities for which the U.S. must be prepared* [*emphasis added*]. . . . *A probable consequence of the new policy will be the admission of Red China, which the U.S. will be unable to block and hence must accept with as much grace and hard thinking as it can muster. . . . The Russian strategy to seat Red China has been aided by the tactics of Nationalist China. . . . Nationalist China's veto of Outer Mongolia in the second membership deal precipitated the Russian veto of Japan. This intransigence of the Nationalists has earned them the hostility of the great majority of the nations within the UN, whose reprisals may well be to give the Peiping regime all of China's rights and privileges, including, perhaps, the veto." Under the circumstances, we saw the matter as involving the choice between two evils, and we considered the admission of Outer Mongolia the lesser of the two.*

THE EDITORS.

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An End to Anguish?

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE

MR. GRAHAM GREENE is beginning to turn away from the hard glare of the light. Like a vine that has had difficulty in keeping hold of its trellis, the anguish seems to be draining from him. *Loser Take All,* an "entertainment" which has appeared in America only in serial form but which was written between *The End of the Affair* and the forthcoming *The Quiet American,* is a story written in the language of the thirties with all the lost nostalgia of the great song hits. It is full of the feeling of "airline tickets to romantic places," of Fred Astaire in his immaculate top hat and tails stepping out to sing in his familiar way:

No ties, no connections,
No strings to my affections,
I am fancy free,
Free for anything fancy.

The sad "affairs" of the last two novels and the play, *The Living Room,* are now reviewed in comfortable recollection. The pattern is changing. The tears that this book will draw from women of Mr. Greene's generation will not be those that come from deep, unfathomable sources, but will be rather from the shallow pools made by summer rain. For this is the land of the fairy tale.

Bertrand, "an aging assistant accountant," is summoned one day by the Gom. The Gom is the Grand Old Man—a giant, "one of those Old Testament characters to whom a king commanded 'Prophesy'." Some people speak of him with awe as if "referring to a peak on Everest" while some have never seen him. He is, as it were, the head of an eight-storey mountain—as high "as the London County Council regulations allowed us to build towards Heaven." At the flick of a hand he disarranges Bertrand's plans for a church wedding at St. Luke's, Maida Hill, and a honeymoon at Bournemouth. Instead the couple will meet him at the Town Hall, Monte Carlo, "on the 30th at 4 p.m." and then sail away with him to Portofino on his splendid yacht.

Yet to stipulate that Bertrand, the hero, has no more than the soul of an accountant would be accurate only in the relative assumption that there is always a mightier and greater scorer who "is watching the game." When—as in a transformation scene—Monaco becomes fairyland and the tall houses shoot "like cacti towards the heavy blue sky" and the Virgin is "in pale blue with angels blowing round her like a scarf," all things seem to tell Bertrand and Cary that the roads of their lives have led to this moment, and the spell is fully cast. Yet, once Bertrand discovers that he has found a system to break the Bank, clouds gather over the blue sky for Cary. Even the money which he wins makes her sigh for the pines which Verlaine so loved at Bournemouth. And, with a twist to the fairy tale, Cary becomes Cinderella in reverse.

Loser Take All carries with it some particularly interesting social implications. To be really rich in England today and live like a prince while still a commoner one must either win a fortune on a football pool or else have devised a successful system at the tables. Roughly speaking, the difference of the choice is the difference between the artisan and the professional classes. For in both cases everything depends upon the luck of a ball. "The devil was in my system and win I did," cries Bertrand. Yet remember that in the mediaeval cathedrals the ball, once a symbol of the sun, became also a means in the passing from hand to hand of sharing the Son of God. Maybe this is to weight "an entertainment," but then Mr. Greene's "entertainments" cannot be easily separated from the rest of his works.

"ANYONE who goes into a Roman Catholic Church during Holy Week services, can see for himself the origin of our drama." This is the opening sentence of Mr. Greene's study of *British Dramatists*—a study which closes with a strong defense of Noel Coward: "As for craftsmanship, he has all our contemporaries beaten. He is the best craftsman since [James] Barrie and unlike Barrie is able to disguise his sentimentality." Certainly there are scenes in this latest "entertainment" which recall *Private Lives,* especially when Bertrand and Cary talk to each other on the balcony suite facing the Casino. Again there are the staccato images which symbolize the "foolish things" of the fifties.

"A toothbrush at Cartier's," I said.
"Lanvin for two pyjama tops."
"Soap at Guerlain."
"A few cheap handkerchiefs in the Rue de Rivoli. . ."

Mr. Braybrooke, an English critic and journalist, contributes frequently to publications on both sides of the Atlantic.

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Still, as the chips pile up and the calculating accountant's blood is fired into undreamed of boldnesses, so the cloak falls from Cinderella and she races out into the streets away from him to find once more the lost beauty of her past uncertainty. For Mr. Greene has his finger very much on the contemporary pulse, either writing more truly than he knows or else using a fairy story as "entertainment" to put each reader in his social place.

The old obsessions recur: "There were pieces of modern carving in alcoves like statues in a Catholic Church." "No machine is perfect; in every join, rivet, screw, lies original sin." "Pascal was a gambler—who staked his money on a divine system." But in this context one must remember Mr. Greene's comment on another contemporary, Walter de la Mare: "Every creative writer worth our consideration; every writer who can be called in the wide eighteenth century use of the term a poet, is a victim: a man given over to obsession." All that can be said here is that—temporarily, at any rate,—the obsessions are less tortured than before. For finally in this story each person is returned to his proper station and the fairy tale has come full cycle.

BOOKS

An Ultimate Kind of Poetry

A LETTER FROM LI PO AND OTHER POEMS. By Conrad Aiken. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

By NED O'GORMAN

MR. AIKEN'S new volume of poems suggests to me that perhaps poets should stop writing poetry and write instead a manifesto. There must be a reconnoiter of the state of language and then there must be a jeremiad. For poetry is weak, paralytic and bound to a reaction that has become a habit. Poetry is written in the manner of Mr. Auden or Mr. Eliot or Mr. Pound and soon it will be written in the manner of Mr. Stevens and perhaps even in the manner of Dylan Thomas. All that is excellent in these men has been lost; even in their own poems one sometimes gets a feeling of dust and suffocation. Poets have mistaken tradition for hindsight, originality for some sort of aesthetic accretion and the "good" poem for an incarnate liberalism.

This collection of poems by Conrad Aiken must serve as an example of a poetry that has lost contact with the world and with language. It is an ultimate kind of poetry, born in the twenties, grown full of prowess but at the loss of brilliance, substance and newness. It is not fashionable to complain that poetry of this decade lacks "newness," but "newness" is the essence of poetry, Shakespeare's or Eliot's. Here is all the drawn-out observation, the endless circumspection of feeling, the probing of one emotion. All is bathos turned in polished and musical rhetoric. One gropes for nerves, for the "alphabet," for structure. Music is not a matter of an occasional "O":

> "O but Tumultuous the rest"
> "O as if all were virginal
> and new"
> "O unknown love"
> "O and the music, too, of
> landscape lost."
> "O god but how our history
> grows stale"

nor is it a matter of pathos, diminished and quivering:

> "O innocence in guilt, and guilt
> in innocence, she stoops,
> she hovers,
> fiercest and subtlest, and
> yes, tenderest, of lovers.
> "Though this cathedral
> mausoleum fall as fall
> it must and come to dust
> and with its splendors us
> still let us not forget
> the nowness of the hand
> upon the bough
> the nowness of the now.

The lyric is not "unbuttonedness," as a nun once referred to the metrics of T.S. Eliot as not just "unbuttonedness." These poems of Aiken's seem to go on forever in a twisting and breathless monotone. One waits for that moment of "well grounded and strongly trussed-up-together" music, for the stark and simple image. But nothing happens, nothing wakes the mind up to the reality of the staff; without the staff the notes, no matter how delicate and meaningful, are just black spots. There is no grandeur, nothing that thrills. And if this seems to be forcing poetry to the service of astonishment then I confess that the only alternative I see is to force it to the service of boredom. It is that lack of fierceness and tenacity that makes the poetry in the journals such models of intelligence and such empty husks.

Could it be that in this volume of poems we are confronted with a poetic misalliance, where emotion and the matrix world are so intermingled that nothing, the world or the emotion, has any reality? Could it be that it is necessary that a new avant-garde (and for all practical, creative purposes there is no avant-garde) proclaim that poetry be anything but "spiritualist" and, in the sense of the loss of the world and things, anything but abstract? Must not modern poetry die and become the verge from which the new poet leaps?

This volume of poetry is overburdened with music in the way that a famous polyphonic Mass in ninety parts is overburdened with music. What one gets is not music at all, but a mass of sound that loses music through music. These poems too lose poetry through a language that lacks the precious individual sound of words.

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A Brilliant Second

FORTY-FOUR IRISH SHORT STORIES. Edited by Devin Garrity. Devin-Adair. $5.

By MICHAEL J. O'NEILL

READERS wishing to keep abreast of what Irish writers are contributing to the world's body of literature have, in the past, been indebted to Devin Garrity for his helpful services either as a publisher or as an editor of their works. Once again he deserves our thanks, this time for publishing his selection of "modern Irish short fiction from Yeats to Frank O'Connor." The over-all value of his anthology can best be determined when we realize that, up to now, with the exception of one or two earlier slender volumes, the Irish short story has not received anything like the attention already gained by Irish poetry and plays.

Mr. Garrity seeks to correct this deficiency by giving us as wide a range of authors as possible; he includes thirty-three of them with forty-four of their pieces. Many of the items he has happily gathered from Irish literary magazines which are now defunct, having undergone the same regrettable experience as most of their counterparts elsewhere. In all, more than half of his collection is published for the first time in this country. From the useful biographical sketches he provides at the end of his volume we learn the interesting fact that the majority of the authors are in their forties or over. The young apparently have not, as yet, made themselves properly felt.

The editor's general purpose is obviously to please as many tastes as he can; but in so doing he incorporates some stories that take away from the merit of his book as a whole. We are very possibly expecting too much that all of the writers come up to the standards of such masters as Joyce and O'Connor or of such subtle and delightful craftsmen as Corkery, O'Faolain, O'Kelly and Stephens, yet after tasting and fully savoring their effects, the appetite longs for more of the same, even to the exclusion of almost all else. In his favor, however, Mr. Garrity selects no piece which deals with such irritants of old as the vaudeville Irishman juggling the facile smile and the synthetic tear.

Since Ireland is an agricultural country, it is not surprising that many of the stories show country folk struggling with or even trying to escape from the stern realities of Irish rural life. But what somewhat surprises, particularly when considered in the light of a recent evaluation of the Irish scene by one of its perceptive interpreters, Sir Shane Leslie, is that the preternatural vies with the supernatural for primacy of attention. Fairies, it would seem, have an attractive export value for some Irish writers.

In his article in an English monthly magazine, Sir Shane graded the hierarchy of Irish values upon an international academic marking system. Ireland, he thought, would

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rate a brilliant Double First in religion, a fair Second in politics, and a Double Third in economics. And most people with some knowledge of that country would readily agree with the correctness of his appraisal, especially that on the importance of Catholicism. Yet judging from the over-all spirit of the book—and this, of course, is no fault of Mr. Garrity—we cannot help but conclude that the Catholic note as found in contemporary literature looms up as more vital, more alert, in countries regarded as less Catholic, in France, in England, and in the United States, than it is in modern Ireland.

The Same Secret

THE LIVING LINCOLN. Edited by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenk Miers. Rutgers University Press. $6.95.

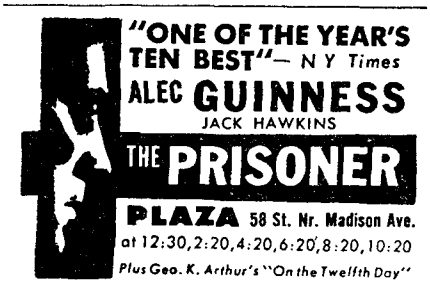
By JOHN COURNOS

THE drama of personality eternally holds men in thrall. It is said that the books on Napoleon would fill several boxcars. It is no less certain that no figure in the near past has engaged the attention, in fact and in fiction, of a greater number of writers than Abraham Lincoln. Few, if any, will question which baggage is the more preferable. Adventure-loving, warlike men followed Napoleon. Common men —of whom Lincoln said that God must love them or else He wouldn't have made so many of them—from Lincoln's day to this followed him in numbers which are legion.

This latest addition to Lincolniana has for subtitle: "The Man, His Mind, His Times, and the War He Fought, Reconstructed from His Own Writings." Inevitably it is singularly free from the endless anecdotes told by his associates which punctuate other narratives about the great liberator. The processes of his mind are shown at work here, particularly in his speeches and letters, of which there is a generous supply. There is also, especially for his days in the Presidential office, a spate of notes, often consisting of no more than two or three lines, which reveal a mind that left nothing undone or to chance. Presumably each one of them was in his own hand; this was before the day of ghost writers, typewriters, and enormous secretarial staffs. They are further evidence that Lincoln was truly indefatigable.

Lincoln passed, and still passes, for a simple man. His simplicity, however, was deceptive. Under the cover of his simplicity resided a mind whose incredible complexity is really one of the astounding things which has thus far not engaged the specific scrutiny of scholastic experts. Each addition to the library of books about Lincoln has served only to deepen the mystery. The bare material in this book, unadorned by modern commentators, makes one think. What is the secret of this man's birth, the secret of his ability, eminence, and all-round coordinated faculties, which made him the well-balanced figure he was and the ideal leader in the greatest crisis in our history?

Here was a man, born in a tiny hovel, who confessed to a "defective" education, with barely a year's schooling in all, yet made such good use of what he did read that he wrote enduring prose. A man so palpably honest and uncovetous as to return ten dollars of a twenty-five dollar fee for legal services, with the observation, "You are too liberal with your money." A man who could write to a lady friend of an early affair, which nearly led to marriage but didn't,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with a frankness and keen self-analysis almost Dostoevskian. A man who could take his mind off long enough from the preoccupations and responsibilities of war to write a note for a lady who had two sons "who want to work," recommending them humorously to a bureau on the ground that "wanting to work is so rare a merit it should be encouraged." And, not the least of it—this is the most remarkable thing of all—a man who, given the opportunity, might have proven a military strategist of the first order. What a trial General McClellan was to him, with his irresolution, dallying and seeming reluctance to move when the proper move was so obvious to the troubled President. Thoughtful Lincoln certainly was, and ever conscious of the tragedy of life, yet he was also a man who, by some instinct, was given to shrewd judgments and quick decisions, preludes to action.

These comments have their justification in the contents of this book, so full of implications. The reading of each Lincoln book is a fresh experience, and one never tires of reading about Lincoln. But the mystery of the man remains the same.

A Falling Off

START FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE: An Exposition of Wit and Humor Polite and Perilous. By Oliver St. John Gogarty. Doubleday. $2.95.

By FRANCIS SWEENEY

DR. Oliver St. John Gogarty has here attempted to catch in slow-motion photographs the athletic dexterity of the mind which we call wit. "To restore a word to its original meaning is beyond me, but for all that I will try . . . The best we can do is to use a word as it was when at its best. Now to restore 'wit' to the meaning it had when it was at its best is to use it as it was used in the eighteenth century, which is what I am trying to do."

This is an admirable purpose, surely, and it would be a memorable book which succeeded even moder-

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ately in such a quest. Unfortunately, though the Addisonian charm of Mr. Gogarty's other books is much in evidence, the memoir does not succeed. The hodgepodge of anecdotes, ill-organized and sometimes elliptical, seems to be residual notes from the garrulous Doctor's other fliers in reminiscence. There are some occasional flashes of the "Atticism" which he defines as Dublin's contribution to the history of laughter, like Wilde's: "Meredith is a prose Browning; and so is Browning." But when the book becomes a file of ancient latrine pleasantries, it is a painful embarrassment to those who love Ireland and admire dignity in old gentlemen.

Why a literary reputation already securely established required this unhappy footnote is a question only the publishers can answer.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF CHRIST. By Robert Hugh Benson. Newman. $2.75.

THIS introduction to the spiritual life derives from a series of sermons delivered in Rome, London and New York over forty years ago. Msgr. Benson's ascetical teachings are far less known in our day than his novels. In this volume he presents the traditional three-stage ascent of the soul to experiential union with God in terms of a deepening personal friendship with Our Creator and Redeemer, stressing Christ's presence in others.

Here is a characteristic excerpt: "The first step in the Illuminative Way, then, consists not merely in experiencing these things—for temptations and bereavements are common to souls in all stages of the spiritual life—but in perceiving their value, intellectually and interiorly, so clearly and unmistakably that never again, if the soul continues in her course, can she resent or rebel against such things . . ."

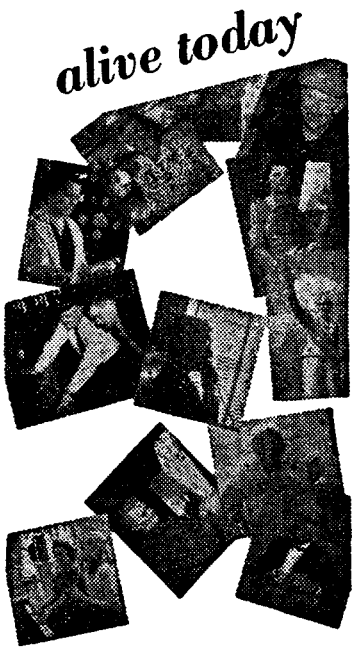
REVIEWERS

Ned O'Gorman is a free-lance writer who contributes frequently to The Commonweal.

John Cournos is a well-known author and anthologist of Americana.

Michael J. O'Neill lectures on modern Irish literature at St. Louis University.

Father Francis Sweeney, S. J., is on the faculty of Boston College.



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